









He thought the people might, if they would, abolish slavery through the Constitution. They had the power, and it was their duty. And he desired to ask Mr. Garrison if it would not be easier to bring the people to exercise this power under the Constitution, than to effect abolition through dissolution. He had no disposition to idolize the Union, and felt that it was well to hold dissolution up to view, but it was a question of expediency which was the better course to take.

Mr. GARRISON thanked Mr. May for his good Republican arguments. His (Mr. May's) position was similar to that of many intelligent persons in the country. He thought injury rather than good would result from sending out the resolution in favor of dissolution.

Mr. MAY desired to say, that if any thing would hasten him to the conclusion that the Union ought to be dissolved, it was what had been said in the late campaign by the Republican leaders. He was shocked at what Senator Wilson and Speaker Banks had said. (Cheers.) He voted the Republican ticket, and was glad now that party did not succeed, for they were not in a condition to assume the government. They were not yet strong enough to resist the concessions demanded by the Slave Oligarchy. He desired others to make the Constitution what it should be, or to make it under foot! (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON said he agreed with Wendell Phillips, that God did not send him into the world to abolish slavery, but to do his duty. Consequences were to be left with God. He denied that the question of dissolution was one of expediency. The people were absolute worshippers of the Union. It was their God! With only expediency to bring them, he should deprecate every reaching them. Every issue they had made was one of expediency with sin. We have never failed to look at expediency.

Mr. GARRISON then proceeded to show the pro-slavery character of the Constitution.

Mr. MAY inquired whether the Constitution was not subject to amendment, and if it would not be easier to amend the Constitution than to destroy it.

Mr. GARRISON knew of no delay in morals. He knew of no such thing as waiting till a bad thing was made good, meantime pledging alliance to the evil. To amend the Constitution, three-fourths of the States must unite. How long is this to be done? The slave States are now a unit. He could not see the ground of waiting till some future time to be honest. He could not wait for three-fourths of the States to amend the Constitution, but he must himself amend it, as he did, by putting his heel upon it, as upon a rattlesnake! Our fathers made government a *compact*, not an *end*.

Mr. MAY asked if he (Mr. G.) had no evidence of the growth in the slave States of an anti-slavery sentiment.

Mr. GARRISON did not doubt the existence of such a feeling, but he knew of no considerable prevalence of it South of a sentiment regarding slavery as a sin. The States of the South stood before us as a unit.

Mr. W. J. WATKINS then took the stand, and declared himself to be an unaltered, uncompromising Abolitionist. But there is, said he, a difference of opinion among the friends of emancipation as to the means to be made use of to accomplish abolition. Could I see that the Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell, I should so declare it, and trample it under foot. But it is easier to do such, than to *prove* it to be so.

He held that the Constitution, viewed in the light of the laws of legal interpretation, is an anti-slavery document. Not that such was the opinion or intention of the framers, but such we find it.

Mr. GARRISON—Does our friend mean to say that the intent and meaning of a compact are not to be considered? Should not the construction of the framers be adhered to?

Mr. WATKINS thought not. If the tyrant omitted any clause necessary to secure his part of the compact, we are at liberty to take advantage of it. He held that it was an insult to the colored population to hold that they were not included in the 'we' of the Constitution. You cannot ignore the colored man. For the government was instituted to secure the blessings of liberty to 'ourselves,'—that is, the framers, white people, and 'our posterity,'—that, at least, included three-fourths of the slaves of Virginia! (Applause.)

Even if we believed that the clause which has been inserted as justifying the rendition of slaves was intended to signify slaves, yet, as it does not properly describe them, we are not bound by it. He thought the American Anti-Slavery Society too prone to go forward to the relief of the Slave Power, by claiming their own interpretation of the phrase to be the true one. That was the great fault he found with the party.

Were the spirit of the Constitution carried out, there would be no slaves. 'No person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law.'—The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended.' Put these two clauses together, and 'Obedience' is gone! The simple provision relative to *habeas corpus*, if adhered to, would set every slave free. We are told that the dissolution of the Union would result in the extinction of slavery. I honestly think not. And even if this were to be the result, the condition of the thousands escaping to the North would be little improved by reason of the prejudice against color so virulent here. He could not think the dissolution of the Union the best thing for the slave.

Mr. GARRISON desired to inquire if Mr. W. used the term 'Union' in the sense in which it was commonly employed and understood.

Mr. WATKINS replied that he intended to use language in an expansive spirit. He believed there was and could be no union between Freedom and Slavery. (Applause.) Only carry out that Constitution which was ordained to secure the blessings of liberty, and which the American people love and revere, and slavery will cease.

Mr. REMOND—Will Mr. Watkins tell us what kind of anti-slavery men he considers those men who framed the Constitution, and remained slaveholders till death.

Mr. WATKINS replied that there was not so much light then as now, and we need not necessarily impute the moral honesty of those men. There are those even now who will attempt to prove from the Bible that slavery is right, and there might have been such men then.

Mr. REMOND—Will Mr. Watkins tell us whether he believes George Washington to have been a hypocrite or not?

Mr. WATKINS—I do believe Washington to have been a hypocrite. This is my private opinion, for the first time publicly expressed.

After further conversation between Messrs. GARRISON, REMOND and WATKINS, the Convention adjourned to Wednesday.

SECOND DAY.

Mr. MAY reiterated his inability to perceive the necessity of dissolution to accomplish the work of emancipation. He could not see how it was to separate the anti-slavery from the pro-slavery sentiment. He felt that acting under the Constitution did not involve or imply an assent to anything wrong in the construction of it. No compact, agreement or oath could impose an obligation to do wrong. He believed that good was done by sending anti-slavery men to Congress. When the people become anti-slavery, the Constitution will be anti-slavery.

Mr. GARRISON expressed the opinion that great patience should be felt towards others who failed to perceive the necessity for dissolution, when so firm a friend of the slave as Mr. May occupied the same position of doubt. (Hear, hear.) He said the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society was to make the

North anti-slavery. So long as the North is pro-slavery, the Northern Church pro-slavery, there will be no dissolution. But we are laboring for and expecting a change. The oath to support the Constitution covers an immorality. Hence a man cannot do right, and take that oath.

A. M. POWELL was disposed to look with less favor upon the Republican party than his friend, Mr. May. He would recognize fully the merits of the issue presented by that party, the non-extension of slavery. But his stand-point of observation was from the position of the slave, and, as one with those in bonds, he felt himself outraged and wronged by the present attitude of the party. The Republican party 'goes for the Union, even with slavery sanctioned by that Union,' says one of the leading organs in its support, in Pennsylvania. Mr. Powell read from an article in the New York Tribune, the great mouth-piece of the party, declaring that it is not its intention to emancipate slaves, nor to benefit the condition of the African race, but only to restrict the spread of slavery. From its own testimony, as given by its chosen organs, and the leading members authorized to speak in its behalf, may we show the position of this party to be one of hostility to the slave. Mr. Powell continued to read from leading Republican journals, and from the addresses of its prominent advocates, extracts defining the position of the party, and defending it from the charge of Abolitionism. He referred to the platform that the 'Union must and shall be preserved,' and spoke of the purpose of the party to bring back the Government to the position in which Washington and Jefferson left it. He proceeded to speak of Washington's position respecting the restoration of fugitives, and cited the case of his attempt to kidnap his runaway slave woman.

Mr. BLOSS—But he did not get her!

Mr. GARRISON—No, because of the breeze it created.

It is notorious of Jefferson, said Mr. Powell, that he was not only a slaveholder, but that his own children have been exposed for sale in the slave market. Members of the Republican party tell us of the value of the Union to the slaveholders, and that the security of their slave property depends upon its preservation, and then add their willingness and determination to preserve the Union at all hazards. We ask and demand the immediate dissolution of the slaveholding Union. And do you ask where you should draw the line? With Francis Jackson, I would say to you, 'draw it around yourselves.' The world is greatly in need of men and women, such as will not worship at the shrine of the 'Union' and slavery, but have rather true reverence for God and humanity. Republicans find the Union of little worth to themselves south of Mason and Dixon's line. Not a soul of them dare distribute Sumner's and Seward's speeches in the streets of Charleston. There is already a crack in the Union, and the work of separation will go on.

In the afternoon, Mr. GARRISON addressed the Convention upon the constitutional question, and in support of the motto—No Union with Slaveholders!

He entered upon a detailed history of the framing of the Constitution, and the intentions and purposes of those engaged in its preparation. It was morally impossible for the people of this country to make an anti-slavery Constitution with their pro-slavery principles. A stream cannot rise higher than its source. From such a devilish heart, an anti-slavery Constitution could not come.

To show the good resulting from radical anti-slavery effort, he stated what he had observed to be a fact, that in those sections of the country where disunion sentiments were strongest, John C. Fremont received the heaviest vote. Massachusetts and the Western Reserve of Ohio were the best abolitionized portion of the country, and they sent the best representatives to Congress. So long as this high standard is held up, men will be drawn up out of the parties. The Republican party made an issue with slavery, for that he thanked God. That party was evidence of growth—growth as a result of abolition effort. Where this effort has not been expended, there is moral darkness. He told Senator Wilson after the election that the reason Fremont was defeated was because there had not been enough radical abolitionism in the State of Pennsylvania. To this Mr. Wilson gave his assent.

Mr. SAM'L D. POLTER (of Rochester) here desired to present three propositions embracing the constitutional question for discussion this evening. He proceeded at some length to state his propositions, defining his position to be that of firm belief in the anti-slavery character of the Constitution.

He was followed by Mr. GARRISON in a few remarks, when

Mr. REMOND asked permission to detain the audience while he presented a fact that had recently come to his knowledge. It was known that the opposition had occupied the greater part of the time during the afternoon session. The object of these meetings was discussion, and for the purpose of defraying the expenses, which in the case of this meeting could not be less than \$75, a collection had been taken up. When Mr. Samuel D. Porter, who sees eye to eye with some of the opposition, was called upon, he said he had nothing to give, and yet in a few moments he rises and proposes questions to occupy the time of the remainder of the Convention. If this was not coolness, he had yet to learn what belonged to an iceberg! He only mentioned it to show the class of mind they were forced to deal with.

Mr. R. then proceeded to argue briefly, from the stand-point of the slave, in behalf of universal freedom. He asked simply equality upon his manhood, not upon his color. He asked the Republicans of Rochester to take their anti-slavery Constitution, and go South and reclaim the young man, for whose purchase a subscription was now being circulated in this city, who was a native born citizen of the Empire State!

If those who held the anti-slavery construction of the Constitution would give him one single case in which they had made use of it to liberate a slave, he would show them a hundred where slaves had been reclaimed under that Constitution.

He could not desire to curse any man, but if it could be, he should be glad to have Samuel D. Porter, (who he believed was intelligent upon the subject of slavery,) awake to-morrow morning with his (Mr. Remond's) complexion! If that did not change his views of slavery, and an anti-slavery Constitution, nothing would.

Evening Session.—Mr. A. M. POWELL took the floor upon the opening of the session to discuss the religious aspect of the cause. He gave an accurate and faithful, and hence severe portrayal of the position of the American Church upon slavery.

First, said Mr. P., we believe that liberty is the divine right of every human being. That true religion does not sanction slavery. All religion, therefore, that does not sanction or apologize for slavery must be false and spurious, and should be repudiated. We are called enemies of religion, infidels, &c. We are enemies of a slaveholding religion—a religion which sanctions or apologizes for the 'sum of all villainies.' The churches at the South are fully committed to the support of slavery. They sell their own members on the auction-block, for gold, with which to purchase Bibles, to support their ministers, to maintain missionary operations, &c. Churches at the North are, to a great extent, in religious fellowship with those of the same denomination at the South. Take, as an illustration, the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. P. here read from the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to slavery, wherein slaveholders are recognized as 'approved brethren' in every respect, save that they may not be elevated to 'official station' in the church.

Suppose Methodists were to endorse and fellowship sheep-thieves as they now do slaveholders, or man-stealers? Would you not pronounce them a 'Brotherhood of Thieves?' Such, indeed, they would be; and such they are in the relation they now sustain to

the victims of American slavery. But Methodists are no more guilty than are Presbyterians and Baptists and Episcopalians. Through the Government, other denominations, such as Free-Will Baptists, Quakers, &c., whose members own no slaves, become responsible as holders of slaves. They recognize Border Ruffian Democrats and slave-holding Republicans as Christians, and throw the weight of their religious influence on the side of oppression. Take, for instance, the Quakers. I have in mind an influential member of that Church, who, as I am informed, at the late election, voted for James Buchanan, to administer for four years to come the United States Government, in accordance with the shocking programme indicated in the Cincinnati Platform. And it was only last Spring that this man had a son driven from Virginia, because he presumed, in a Lyceum discussion, to advocate, not the abolition, but the non-extension of slavery. I refer to Francis Ray, a much-respected young man of Chatham, N. Y., whose Card appeared in the New York Tribune, Evening Post, Anti-Slavery Standard and other papers. It is doubtless true that but a small minority of the voters among the Quakers are Border Ruffian, slave-catchers, Democrats, while the majority are found in the Republican ranks, and as such, politically, they become the 'body-guard' of slavery within the States. What would you say of Quakers found in political alliance with *horse thieves*? And what shall we say when we find them in political alliance with the stealers of men, women and children? Only the Old School Covenanters are exempt from the charge of slave-holding. They refuse to be in alliance with a Government which dooms every seventh man and woman to bondage. But members of the Quaker and other Churches aid, through the Government, to hold, buy and sell slaves, and are none the less in 'good and regular standing' in their respective denominations.

Mr. P. then referred at some length to the Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies, showing them to be strongholds of the Slave Power.

In conclusion, he quoted from Albert Barnes and other prominent authorities in support of his charges against the American Church, as the bulwark of the slave system. Our motto is, 'No Union with Slaveholders, Religiously or Politically.'

Miss ANTHONY made an allusion to the position of the local church and ministry respecting the sin of slavery, and suggested that, had there been a meeting of the Tract Society, and Rev. Nehemiah Adams been advertised to speak, every minister in the city would have been present; whereas, with a cause involving directly the temporal and eternal interests of four millions of human beings, a cause attempting the work of carrying the Bible to them, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison advertised to speak, scarce a city minister had entered the door.

Rev. S. J. MAY said that he, as the only minister on the stand, and probably in the Convention, ought to repel the grave charge made by the first speaker (Mr. Powell) against the Church. He must, however, acknowledge that he could not see the fallacy of the speaker. He believed the American Church to be the great bulwark of American Slavery. He then referred to the reception of Mr. Garrison by the ministers and churches of Boston, when he first began to speak for the slave. He was denied admission to all the churches, but he advertised that if no other place was found, he would speak on Boston Common. That spirit of determination to be heard, drew his (Mr. May's) attention, and in the Infidel Hall which was thrown open for him, he heard Mr. Garrison for the first time. The next day he passed in looking over letters written by him to the leading clergymen in the country, urging upon their attention the cause of the slave. From not one of those ministers did he receive a kind, considerate reply; and there was nothing in one of them to give offence. On the next Sabbath, he (Mr. May) made his first allusion to the slave from the pulpit, and there was but one in that whole Boston congregation to take him by the hand and approve of what he said. That one was Mrs. Howe, whose earnestness in thanking him for the first words in behalf of the slave she had ever heard from the pulpit, he should never forget.

Mr. GARRISON expressed his gratification at the fair hearing which had been accorded the Convention in Rochester. *Strike, but hear!* They had been heard; the blows, if any, were yet to be given. Mr. G. then briefly rehearsed the ground occupied by the Convention, and repelled the charge of 'infidelity,' so often raised against them. It was true, that in all ages, religion had been against reform, but the Anti-Slavery Society was not an Anti-Bible or an Anti-Sabbath Society; it was *Anti-Slavery*, nothing more. For twenty-five years, it has defended the Bible as an Anti-Slavery book; but it has said that if the Bible sanctioned slavery, it was not of God, and ALBERT BARNES now says the same thing.

'Infidelity' was a cant term, which no manly man, no honest, noble man, would use. He would make use of it ought to go on his hands and knees to Rome, and kiss the Pope's toe! There was no infidelity in Protestantism. The fact was no infidelity where a man is true to himself, whatever be his opinions.—There were only two grounds of infidelity—the one involved a violated obligation, the other a want of fidelity to one's own convictions. A man who fails to follow his own highest convictions may be charged with infidelity, but not for any mere opinion he honestly entertains.

No mere sketch can do justice to Mr. Garrison's concluding remarks in behalf of liberty of sentiment, which held a large audience in eager attention till a late hour of the night, when the Convention adjourned sine die.

LETTER FROM GILES B. STEBBINS, MENDOTA, Feb. 6, 1857.

PRESIDENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

I am on the prairies of Illinois—now snowy wastes, cheerless as the tender mercies of Slavery to its poor victims. I would gladly be at home and at your meeting, but cannot, and therefore wish to say, Go on in this building up of a free public sentiment which shall turn and overturn all that is pro-slavery in Church and State and social life. Not that this word of mine is much needed for your sakes,—for whatever may be my theological ideas touching the 'perseverance of saints,' I have strong faith in the perseverance of pioneer Abolitionists,—but I would say it for my own sake, that it may be well understood I am an Abolitionist. To keep up to the mark of trying to be one, and being willing to avow the glorious faith, has an effect on conscience and character akin to that of breathing a pure, bracing air on the physical system. It is a moral tonic, natural, and therefore healthful. I can only say of the many who never tried it, 'I pity them, poor souls! for they don't know what they have missed.' Truth, too, must triumph in the end, and this grand work as last bless the slave and bring freedom to our land.

This moral movement is the nucleus around which others naturally grow—the central fire radiating heat and light on all who turn toward it. Men like Henry Wilson, when in an Anti-Slavery meeting in Boston, are standing near the fire, their hearts warm, and brave words are spoken. In Washington, they turn away from it, grow cold, and say mean things,—talking about the Union to keep good repute with patriotic soul-drivers and doughfaces.

The leaven is working. The Republican movement, triumphant even after defeat,—taking higher ground than any great party ever has occupied, shows whether the popular feeling tends. Yet it shows, too, how much further it must go before freedom shall win; for a party, with its leaders apologizing for being even half-way freemen, must grow in manhood and courage. Would you not pronounce them a 'Brotherhood of Thieves?' Such, indeed, they would be; and such they are in the relation they now sustain to

New Year's leading article, that this struggle must be against slavery itself, is hailed as true as well as bold. The many letters of Wade and Giddings to the Worcester Disunion Convention call forth earnest answers from many hearts, while multitudes feel ashamed of the apologetic weakness of Wilson and Banks.

I have been thinking, since I read yesterday the notice of your Convention, what a rare combination of qualities it needs for an Abolitionist to be a wisely successful teacher and advocate of this Gospel of Humanity. What manly and womanly courage, what reverence for man, what slight regard for institutions of Church and State, except as they help to higher freedom and truer life,—what boldness of speech,—what faithfulness of criticism,—and, at the same time, what sweetly noble earnestness, what kindness of spirit, what charity and patience toward the sins and follies of the weak, the proud, and the wicked, what invincible perseverance and cheerful faith in truth and freedom,—in God's good angels, waiting long, watching ever, but saving at last.

But I must close, with best wishes.

Yours, truly, G. B. STEBBINS.

NOTES BY THE WAY.—NO. II.

NABUVA, (N. H.) Jan. 28, 1857.

DEAR FRIEND MAY:

From Lowell I came to this place, arriving here on Saturday the 24th inst. The friends here were anticipating my coming, and were making arrangements for a meeting on the Sabbath. They first applied to the Universalist Society for the use of their church in the evening, as they usually have no meetings then. The chairman of the committee met the proposition with apparent favor, saying he had no objection to our having the house—he would consult the other members of the committee. It was subsequently reported that the committee had decided that the house could be used only for meetings of their own Society! This is a denomination that makes loud boasts of its liberality! 'No sectarianism here!' But then, if a man won't grind on our organ, why let him presume to seek our fellowship. True, we profess to believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man; but these naughty abolitionists preach the equal rights of the colored race, and they would as soon expose the short-comings of our sect as any other. They have not the fear of man before their eyes, and they will just as soon arraign us before the bar of public opinion in one of our own churches as elsewhere. Let us give these fanatics no fellowship!

Now, for myself, I can very easily conceive how a man, who believes that ninety-nine hundredths of the whole human race were created for endless misery, and are doomed to certain and inevitable destruction, can consistently do all in his power by keeping an *entire* race in ignorance and degradation, to help on the work of the Lord (?) in thus preparing him for his final doom! But how a set, whose cardinal doctrine is 'God's impartial and unbounded love,' can refuse to fellowship those who are striving to make that idea *practical*, is past my comprehension, save on the ground that they are really more interested in the upbuilding of a sect than the spread of justice, truth and righteousness upon earth. Who is mainly responsible for the shutting up of the house against the friends of universal freedom, it is not my province to decide; but the fact that the chairman of the committee, above referred to, is a postmaster under this blood-stained government, leads one to suspect that there may be treachery somewhere.

After the refusal of the church, the friends applied for the City Hall. This was denied them, on the ground that a meeting in the hall of a Sunday evening would draw the people away from their accustomed places of worship! A very pious set, these City Fathers! But, really, isn't the idea too ridiculous for serious comment? Here is the city of Nabuza, with its half score of pulpits, occupied on each returning Sabbath by men—or something which stands for men—who profess to preach the word of truth, and break to the people the bread of life; yet they dare not trust their supporters to listen for a single evening to an unsophisticated yeoman who pleads the cause of humanity! Out upon such hypocritical pretenders! They turn God's everlasting truth into a lie, and put far off the day of the slave's emancipation, and the world's redemption; they are blind leaders of the blind, who are leading their followers on to swift destruction.

Our next effort was to get the Free-Will Baptist Church. In this we were more successful. This Society, with a liberality which presents a striking contrast to the bigotry of the one above named, gave up its third meeting, and welcomed us with generous hearts. The pastor,—who is a live man,—and many of the leading members of the Society, did what they could to aid and encourage the meeting. We had a good audience, and I trust, a profitable time. After the close of the exercises, we were offered the church for an evening we might wish for another meeting. Arrangements were accordingly made for another lecture on Wednesday eve; when a goodly number collected to listen to the gospel of *immediate and unconditional* emancipation. The radical positions of the speaker met with some opposition, and several persons came to the rescue of the Republican party and the defense of the Union! Men, who three days before had heard the Church accused of being the bulwark of American Slavery without a murmur of dissent, were very indignant at the idea that the Republican party could be in any way implicated in the guilt of slaveholding, or that we should for a moment entertain the question of a dissolution of this blood-stained compact. It really seems that there is more reverence for the Constitution and the Union than for the Bible and the Church; so impossible is it to make a politician comprehend a moral principle, if applied to government. Even the pastor of this church accused us of an attempt to 'mix up' things which ought to be kept entirely distinct, when we asked men to carry their principles to the ballot-box—religion has nothing to do with politics. As a further evidence of the subservience of the people to the 'covenant with death,' I will relate a little incident that occurred on the morning after my second lecture. The Unitarian clergyman of the place met one of the friends, and in the course of their conversation remarked, that he had given notice of his lecture from his pulpit, but he should not have done so, had he known the lecturer was a disunionist! He thought the Union must be preserved, and that the laws should be obeyed,—that he would assist in returning fugitive slaves!! When such men are acknowledged its leaders for the development of the moral and religious faculties, is it any wonder that the masses get into the fog, and deny that there is any such thing as *absolute* right and eternal justice? For my part, I have no hope that the race will make much progress towards a higher and truer life until they are freed from their spiritual bondage to these blind guides. The morning after our second meeting, a paper was in circulation to obtain signatures, inviting the pastor of the Free Will Baptist Church to give a lecture on slavery—to save the Union, I suppose. But little anti-slavery work has been done in this place for a long time, and here is a wide field for missionary labor. They are anxiously and hopefully waiting friend Garrison's convenience to come and break to them the bread of life. There are some fine minds here, but the mass of the people are suffering under a spiritual despotism which is terrible to contemplate.

During my stay in this place, I have scattered many anti-slavery tracts—those silent missionaries of truth and righteousness; and I trust the seed will yield an abundant harvest, to be gathered into the storehouse of humanity against the day when the starving millions shall seek the bread which perisheth not.

Yours, for the true and the right, COLPORTEUR.

JOSEPH BARKER'S LETTER TO HENRY C. WRIGHT.

THE MEANING OF A VOTE.

MR. EDITOR:

The following observations upon the right of voting under the Constitution are not intended to, and of course will not, prevent H. C. Wright and Joseph Barker from settling their differences upon this question in their own way. But the writer, having had his attention turned to the subject for some time, and coming to the conclusion that it is wrong to vote, desires to point out what appear to him to be weak points in Mr. Barker's letter, published in THE LIBERATOR of 6th inst.

In that letter, he says, 'When I vote for such men as Fremont, Charles Sumner, and Joshua R. Giddings, the meaning of my vote is, I had rather Fremont were President than Buchanan; I had rather Charles Sumner were Senator than G. S. Hillard; and I had rather J. R. Giddings were Representative than Smith Cantwell.' Mr. Barker, of course, believes that a vote means nothing more than this. But the question is, not what a vote means, or what Mr. Barker means by it, but what he really does when he casts his vote. And I am surprised that a man of Mr. Barker's penetration cannot see the difference, the distinction, between the motive to an action, and the result. It is not an uncommon thing to find men acting from the best motives, yet acting wrong; acting with the best intentions, yet performing actions the consequences of which they do not fully comprehend. This is the position in which we conceive Mr. Barker places himself when he votes for Mr. Fremont, Charles Sumner, or J. R. Giddings.

It will not do for him to tell us that he does no more than he intends to do, and that 'it is absurd to pretend to know a man's meaning better than himself.' How many men do by a single act a great deal more than they either mean or intended by it, and had they foreseen the result, would have shrunk from its performance!

He says, 'It is plain that both North and South take such votes as a simple declaration of a preference of freedom to slavery, and of the friends of freedom to the advocates of slavery.' But are they merely such expressions of preference? Does Mr. Barker do no more when he casts his vote for Mr. Fremont than Mr. Garrison does when he expresses a preference for him? Votes elect Presidents; mere declarations of preference never do.

But this defence for popular opinion, on the part of Mr. Barker, is not in keeping with his character in other respects, as a radical reformer. What if neither the North nor the South, in this matter, yet see far enough, will he be satisfied to see with them, and no further?

Again,—the Slave Power no more rules with his consent than with H. C. Wright's. Is he quite sure of that? Had Mr. Fremont been elected President instead of Mr. Buchanan, the Slave Power would have ruled not merely by his consent, but by his acts, for slavery must rule as long as there is a single slave State in the Union, and can only cease to rule by that act which will make it cease to exist in the Union. Neither Mr. Fremont nor his party has ever expressed hostility to slavery where it exists under the Constitution; on the contrary, he would, as President, be bound to protect it in its constitutional rights. He would have to protect it in every slave State in the Union; nay, in every free State, by the rendition of fugitive slaves. He would have to throw the protection of the Constitution and of the Union over Virginia and South Carolina equally with New York and Massachusetts. When Mr. Barker, therefore, votes for Fremont, he votes to give protection to slavery, and aid and comfort to slaveholders.

The question of the right of slavery to exist under the Constitution is easily settled. What the Constitution permits, without any expressed or direct prohibition, and protects, it sanctions. If Mr. Barker belongs to that class who think the Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, then why does he vote for his candidate, knowing that he will have to violate it? Can he not see that the act of voting is the same, whether the written Constitution be or be not an anti-slavery document?

But where do those who vote under it as an anti-slavery Constitution get the right to put their own private construction upon it? Certainly not from the Constitution—and in this they act unconstitutionally. The Constitution itself prohibits it, by providing a 'Judiciary, whose power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution,' and whose decisions as to its meaning are final, and binding upon all citizens who acknowledge allegiance to it.

But he says, by adopting the principle, 'not to interfere in government matters,' Mr. Wright 'agrees that the majority or the minority—the Slave Power or the Pope—a priest or a devil, may rule; and that not for a few years only, but till the distant era in eternity, when human governments shall be no more.' We cannot see the legitimacy of Mr. Barker's conclusion from the premises. To say that by refusing to take part in a government whose principles, laws and action we disapprove, is giving our consent to the most corrupt forms of its administration, is simply absurd. And to say, that by refusing to aid Mr. Fremont in protecting slavery where it is, we consent to Mr. Buchanan and his government extending it where it is not, is equally absurd.

Mr. Barker would do well, I think, to give up this way of talking, but his own opinion, of course, must govern him.

NEW YORK, Feb. 15, 1857.

SENATOR SUMNER. Mr. Sumner left Boston last evening, for Washington, by way of Fall River. Though much improved in health, he is still regarded by his physician as an invalid. He has never at any moment given up the idea of taking his seat in the Senate during the present session, and he is unwilling that Massachusetts should suffer by his absence when important questions in which he is interested, may be pressed for decision. He will be there to vote the tariff. He has engaged a passage to France in the steamer Fulton, which leaves New York on the 7th, and will spend the summer in Europe. He looks to this tour (on which he will embark without returning again to Boston) for that complete restoration, which, thus far, he has failed to obtain at home.—Boston Telegraph, Tuesday.

GONE OFF. The abolition editor, Samuel Ludwig, has been helped out of town pretty well scared, and fortunately for him, he did not fall into the hands of those who were on the *qui vive* for him. He was let out of jail on Saturday night, and aided by a friend, was hurried out of the city. We wonder how he escaped from Charleston, from which place he came hither, per steamer Gorgon. At any rate, we opine he will not revisit Savannah on a similar errand to that which brought him here last week. The man who tries to be of all parties, all creeds, all liberties, and all follies, is not to be trusted anywhere.—Savannah Georgian.

COLORS CHILDREN IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Fugitiveness, or conservatism, (says the Boston Telegraph) was shocked immensely in 1855 by the law of the State abolishing separate schools for colored persons. But we have the testimony of an intelligent member of the School Committee of this city, that no damaging effects have yet resulted from the innovation. We find the following letter in the Providence Post. It is written to a gentleman who is trying to get the caste schools abolished in that city:

BOSTON, Feb. 16, 1857.

GEOGRAPHY. Dear Sir: Your note came to hand yesterday. I infer that your inquiry has reference to the admission of colored children into the public schools of this city. In reply, I would say that the result, so far as I can learn, has been very satisfactory. It has put to rest the question which has agitated the community for years, and no complaints are heard from either party. The district under my immediate care, having one grammar school and six or eight primary schools, embraced a large portion of our colored population. At first, some few parents seemed dissatisfied with the admission of colored children; but they were soon satisfied that no harm was done to their children, and I have heard

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the New Series of Tracts.

D. N. Brown \$2.00, Brown 1, M. Brown 1, Joab Phelps 50 cts., A. Phelps 50c, N. D. Phelps 12c, L. D. Nickerson \$1, all of Kingsford, Fulton Co., N. Y., by W. T. Garrison.

Collections by D. M. Allen, mostly in New Hampshire, \$4.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

MR. HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in West Randolph next Sunday, March 1st, all day and evening.

MR. PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in FALL RIVER on Sunday next, March 1st, in the afternoon and evening. All are invited, and an interesting meeting may be expected.

MR. C. C. BURLEIGH will speak at

Harwich,	Friday evening, Feb. 27.
" "	Sunday, March 1.
East Dennis,	Monday evening, " 2.
Barnstable,	Thursday " " 5.
" "	Friday " " 6.

MR. PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Lucy Brown will speak in Providence on the 28th inst. of Anti-Slavery Meetings, on Sunday evening next, March 1st.

MARRIED.—In Townsend, Mass., Dec. 25, by Henry Levy, Esq., Mr. JOHN CLEMENT with Mrs. LOVINA SPAULDING, all of Townsend.



CATHARTIC PILLS

OPERATE by their powerful influence on the internal viscera to purify the blood and stimulate it into healthy action. They remove the obstructions of the stomach, bowels, liver, and other organs of the body, and by restoring the regular action to health, correct, wherever they exist, such derangements as are the first causes of disease. An extensive trial of their virtues, by Physicians, and Patients, has shown that of dangerous diseases almost beyond belief, were they not substantiated by persons of such exalted position and character as to forbid the suspicion of fraud. Their certificates are published in my American Almanac, which the Agents below named are pleased to furnish free of all inquiry.

Assured we give Directions for their use in the complaints which they have been found to cure.

FOR COSTIVENESS.—Take one or two pills, or such quantity as to gently move the bowels. Costiveness is frequently the aggravating cause of PILES, and the cure of one complaint is the cure of both. No person can feel well while using a costive habit of body. Hence it should be, as it can be, promptly relieved.

FOR DYSPEPSIA, which is sometimes the cause of Costiveness, and always uncomfortable, take mild doses from one to four pills to stimulate the stomach and liver into healthy action. They will do it, and the heartburn, sourness, and numbness of digestion will disappear. When it goes, it goes.

FOR A FOURTH STOMACH, or Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, which produces general depression of the spirits and bad health, take from four to eight Pills at night, and smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength are restored to the system.

FOR NERVOUSNESS, SICK HEADACHE, NAUSEA, PAIN in the Stomach, Back, or Side, take from four to eight pills on going to bed. If they take effect, continue sufficient to take motion the next morning. A medium sized dose of pills will be swept out from the system. Don't wear these and their kindred disorders because your stomach is full.

FOR SCURFV, ERYTHELMA, and all diseases of the Skin, take the Pills freely and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The eruptions will generally subside, diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulcers and sores have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and the eruptions of the skin have been cured. Patients! your duty to society forbids that you should make yourself around the world with pimples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

TO PURIFY THE BLOOD, they are the best medicine ever discovered. They should be taken freely and frequently, and the impurities of the blood, the seeds of incurable diseases will be swept out of the system like chaff before the wind. By this property they do as much good in preventing sickness as by the remarkable cures which they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Bilious Affections arise from some derangement—either torpidity, congestion, or obstruction of the liver. Torpidity and congestion vitiate the bile, and render it unfit for digestion. This is disastrous to the health, and the constitution is frequently undermined by it. Indigestion is the symptom. Obstruction of the duct which empties the bile into the stomach causes the bile to overflow into the blood. This produces jaundice, with a long and dangerous train of evils. Constipation, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhoea, prevails. Feverish symptoms, languor, low spirits, restlessness, and melancholy with somnolence, are the result. Sometimes great drowsiness; sometimes there is severe pain in the side; the skin and the white of the eyes become a greenish yellow; the bowels are constipated, or the bowels are too loose; the whole system is irritable, with a tendency to fever, which may turn to bilious fever, bilious colic, bilious diarrhoea, or dysentery. A medium sized dose of four pills taken at night, followed by two or three in the morning, and repeated a few days, will remove the cause of all these troubles. It is wished to suffer such pains when you can cure them for 25 cents.

RHEUMATISM, GOUT, and all Inflammatory Fevers are rapidly cured by the purifying effects of these Pills upon the blood and the stimulus which they afford to the vital principle of Life. For these and all kindred complaints they should be taken in mild doses, to move the bowels gently, but freely.

As a DINNER PILL, this is both agreeable and useful. No pill can be made more pleasant to take, and certainly none has been made more effective for the purpose for which a dinner pill is employed.

PREPARED BY

J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, LOWELL, MASS., AND SOLD BY

THEODORE METCALF & CO., Boston; BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston; BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland; J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.; And by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every where.

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The Psalms of Life.

A COMPILATION OF PSALMS, HYMNS, ANTHEMS, CHANTS, &c., embodying the SPIRITUAL, PROPHETIC, and EXHORTATORY SENTIMENT of the Present Age. By JOHN S. ADAMS.

This Work is adapted to Public and Private Religious Worship, Social Gatherings, Reform Meetings, Special Occasions, and the Family Circle. It is a "Hymn Book" and "Meditation Book" combined, containing upwards of 600 Psalms, Hymns, &c., and nearly 200 Tunes. The former comprise the best lyrical productions of the old writers of "Sacred Poetry," together with those of modern writers, among whom are, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Tennyson, Mackay, Dana, Swain, May, Eliza Cook, Alice and Phoebe Carey, Mrs. Osgood, Mrs. Sigourney, and many others. It has been prepared with special reference to the already large and rapidly increasing demand for a volume that should express the sentiments of an advanced mind of the present time. It is only free of all sectarianism, is prefaced with a very full and complete Index, giving First Lines, a Classification of Subjects, Tunes, and Metres, contains 262 pages, in library style, and is handsomely and durably bound in cloth, embossed and lettered. Price, 75 cts. Also, in leather, gilt-edged and lettered. Price, \$1.00.

Copies will be forwarded by Mail; and Societies or Individuals purchasing in quantities will be allowed a discount from the above prices.

Published by OLIVER DITSON & CO., 115 Washington Street, BOSTON.

Feb. 27.



## POETRY.

From the National Era.  
DR. KANE IN CUBA.

A noble life is in thy care,  
A sacred trust to thee is given;  
Bright Island! let thy healing air  
Be to him as the breath of Heaven.

The marvel of his daring life—  
The self-forgetting leader bold,—  
Stirs, like the trumpet's call to strife,  
A million hearts of meek and bold.

Eyes that shall never meet his own,  
Look dim with tears across the sea,  
Where from the dark and icy zone,  
Sweet Isle of Flowers! he comes to thee.

Fold him in rest, oh, pitying clime!  
Give back his wasted strength again;  
Soothe, with thy endless summer time,  
His winter-wearied heart and brain.

Sing soft and low, thou tropic bird,  
From out the fragrant, flowery tree—  
The car that hears thee now, has heard  
The ice-break of the winter sea.

Through his long watch of awful night,  
He saw the Bear, in Northern skies;  
Now, to the Southern Cross of light,  
He lifts in hope his weary eyes.

Prayers, from the hearts that watched in fear,  
When the dark North no answer gave,  
Rise, trembling, to the Father's ear,  
That still his love may help and save.

Amesbury, 1st mo., 1857. E. H. W.

## SONG OF THE EMIGRANT.

To the West! to the West! to the land of the free!  
Where mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea;  
Where a man's a man, if he's willing to toil,  
And the humbler may gather the fruits of the soil.

Where children are blessings, and he who has most  
Has aid for his fortune, and riches to boast;  
Where the young may exult, and the aged may rest,  
Away, far away, to the land of the West!

To the West! to the West! where the rivers that flow,  
Run thousands of miles, spreading out as they go;  
Where the green, waving forests shall echo our call,  
As wide as Old England, and free to us all.

Where prairies, like seas where the billows have rolled,  
Are broad as the kingdoms and empires of old,  
And the lakes are like oceans, in storm or in rest,  
Away, far away, to the land of the West.

To the West! to the West! there is wealth to be won,  
The forests to clear is the work to be done;  
We'll try it—we'll do it, and never despair—  
While there's light in the sunshine, or breath in the air.

The bold independence that labor shall buy,  
Shall strengthen our hands, and forbid us to sign;  
Away, far away, let us hope for the best,  
And build up a home in the far distant West.

From the New York Tribune.

## "REFLECTIONS."

"Le Miroir" of Paris is a new patent toilet-glass, lately invented in Paris, which reflects a person's back, enabling a lady to arrange her back hair and apparel with the greatest ease and precision.

In Paris, say, the papers say, some one has just perfected  
A looking-glass by which a lass can see her back reflected;  
No more to guess how that new dress may captivate beholders;  
As others see, so now can she, how nice it fits her shoulders,  
Nor need again her neck to strain, at risk of dislocation,  
Turning her head till well-nigh dead, to judge what adoration  
From one and all will greet her shawl, and as the flounces rustle,  
Her hand can trust to readjust, and then arrange her bustle.

By this device she in a trice is all prepared for action—  
Not left to wait, expostulate with 'Ma', till near distraction.  
When valiant troops of stalwart hoops surround the whole dominion,  
Seeing them all, she need not call for aid or for opinion.  
Backbiters now, creation through, must all suspend their labor,  
Nor shelter find ensconced behind an unsuspecting neighbor.  
In mirrors old none could behold a vestige of her bonnet,  
Because it swayed behind her head when said to be upon it;  
Nor would they show, to high or low, posterior perfection,  
So, if the face was scant of grace—what sorrowful reflection!

Each lady wise let me advise herewith to rest contented,  
Nor seek an art by which the heart to view might be presented.

North Almont, February, 1857.

From the Home Journal.

## MINNIE'S ANSWER.

BY GEO. ARNOLD.

There's a certain girlish grace  
Hovers round thy form—  
Sits upon thy beaming face,  
Sweetly blended with a trace  
Of a ripper charm.

Should I say, 'I love but thee'—  
Minnie, were it safe for me?

There's a certain burning look  
Darting from thine eye—  
Reads my soul as 'twere a book,  
Searches every hidden nook,  
E'en in passing by.

Shouldst thou fall in love with me—  
Minnie, were it safe for thee?

Then this loveliest of girls  
Raised her eyes to mine—  
Smiled, and brushed away her curls,  
Smiled with teeth like matchless pearls,  
Like a matchless wine;

And she softly said to me,  
'I would take my chance with thee.'

## ROSE AND GRASS.

I saw some handfuls of the rose in bloom,  
With bands of grass suspended from a dome.  
I said, 'What means this worthless grass, that it  
Should in the rose's fairy circle sit?'

Then wept the grass, and said—'Be still, and know  
The kind their old associates ne'er forego.  
Mine's no beauty, hue, or fragrance, true!  
But in the garden of my lord I grew.'

## A WISL.

From a crowd neighbor and a sullen wife,  
A pointless needle and a broken knife;  
From suretyship, and from an empty purse,  
A smoking chimney and a jolting horse;  
From a dull razor and an aching head,  
From a bad conscience and a buggy bed;  
A blow upon an elbow and a knee—  
From each of these my Tomyntee free.

## The Liberator.

## The Present Aspect of American Slavery.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER,  
At the Anti-Slavery Convention, Jan. 30, 1857.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:  
I have but a few minutes to speak in, for steam and railroad cars wait for no man. I shall not detain you long, but will call your attention to a few THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT ASPECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

There is obviously one great obstacle to our national welfare at present and progress for the future. That is the institution of Slavery, which now directly hinders the welfare of the white and the black, and threatens to ruin our Democratic Institutions at no distant day. Some other nations have many difficulties peculiar to themselves; we but one special trouble, which, however, is so huge in bulk, so awful in its kind, that I think no progressive nation of Christendom finds its best institutions in such peril as our own. Nay, in the darkest day of the American Revolution, the sky did not scowl so black and grim at Democracy as now.

1. Yet Slavery is opposed to our National Idea, as once set forth in the Programme of Political Principles which the American People laid before the nations of the world: All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain natural and unalienable Rights, among them, with the right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.

2. It is also opposed to the Ethical Instinct of the whole Teutonic family, and especially of the Anglo-Saxon tribe. With little nigamess, and no sentimentality of morality, the Saxon has an intense love of personal liberty; and though he has been a tyrant like other men, he yet instinctively gravitates towards such political institutions as secure National Unity of Action and Personal Freedom at the same time. In Europe, it is only in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, that the voice of Liberty can be heard; the Press is free in England; while in France, the ballot that the People cast at the "elections" must bear the Government stamp, and be approved by the authorities whose continuance in office is thereby decided on. The German lips are padlocked together; the Spanish and Italian are whipped together and sewed up with an iron thread. The Saxon alone has a free mouth and a free hand. Our tribal instinct is hostile to slavery. No nation ever made such disinterested sacrifice for the liberty of men as our British brethren, when they paid \$100,000,000 to set free 800,000 of their own slaves.

3. Slavery is equally alien to the present Spirit of all Christendom. The nations of Europe long since weeded bondage from their nicely-cultured field. Even Portugal and Spain disdained the poison thing. The late Emperor Alexander set free nearly 8,000,000 men whom he inherited as praedial slaves (*colonus regium*) and left free men. Even the Emperor of Turkey seeks to abolish slavery in his wide domain. The Revolution of 1848 left France without a bondman in her colonies, and Hungary with no serf on her soil. All civilized nations unite in prohibiting the African slave trade.

4. Slavery is not less opposed by the general Progress of Mankind. For as the baby is detached from his mother at birth, and gradually outgrows the necessity of being fed from her bosom and borne in her arms, and at length becomes his own master, so the individual man gradually integrates himself from that excessive subordination to the Community—mother of all civilization—develops his free personality into all the forms which the variant genius of individualism requires. Hence individuals escape from personal bondage, and communities from theocratic, monarchic or oligarchic constraint, and become self-conscious democracies. Thus the free personality of the individual and the Community is continually on the increase with mankind, and though Spain and Italy be put in chains, the Human Race walks ever with a freer step.

Now, as American Slavery is hostile to all these forces, of the Nation, the Tribe, of Christendom, of Mankind, it is certain that Slavery is to disappear and perish. Nay, as it is the chief obstacle to our present Welfare and future Progress, it is clear that the great Duty of America is to get rid of this hindrance as soon as possible, peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must. Of course, we must end it in the best way, i. e., by the means which are most just to the slave, and also attended with the least cost, harm and loss to the rest of men. First of all, we must do justice to the party wronged, and next see that this is done with the least harm to the doer of wrong. For it is not fair to profess kindness to the thieves and robbers in the State Prison, and practice any needless severity against their fellow-thieves and robbers outside of its walls. Let the same rule of justice and mercy apply to the convicted felon in jail and the active oppressor abroad and still committing his crimes.

While Slavery has four such powerful foes, it would seem easy to end this mischief; but, on the other hand, it has two allies, which are both powerful and close at hand, viz., (1) Ambition for Political Power; (2) Covetousness for Commercial Wealth.

1. All the great offices of the American Democracy have long been in the gift of the slaveholder. He is the Federal Government—a power behind the throne of the People, and hitherto greater than the People. As in the popular Theology, the Godhead is constituted of three acknowledged persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but yet contains a fourth and unacknowledged Power, the Devil, who is more powerful than all the three, and ruins their work, crowding his huge hell with 'lost', while the narrow heaven is thinly populated with 'the righteous' or 'the elect'—so Slavery, a power not named in our Programme of Principles, of Purposes, or even of Means, has yet been hitherto more potent than all the acknowledged forces of the Democracy. The tail of this devil, worse than the Apocalyptic, not only draws a third, but a half of the stars of our American heaven; nay, more, for all the great Offices and most of the great Fortunes have become subject to his control. There are two great pillars in the temple of American Aristocracy—Political office, Commercial money. These are the Jewish and Roman in the temple of Respectability. Now Slavery embraces them both, and if any man ventures to offend, threatens to overthrow the columns and bring down the house to ruin.

Now, enthroned between the two, Slavery, though weak by nature, is exceedingly strong by position.

In America, there are two great Ideas—the Idea of Freedom, which tends to Democracy, the Idea of Slavery, which tends to Despotism.

Between the two there has long been a quarrel, and some little provisional skirmishing. There will soon be a fight, a decisive battle, which determines the quarrel, and gives the continent to one or the other. We are now making ready for action, tucking up our garments, and girding on our swords. Of course, there are two Parties, one for each Idea.

1. The PARTY OF SLAVERY has hitherto had the control of the government, and is now to hold it till 1861. The single head of this creature is in the South; its double tail in the North—for, though single-headed, it is double-tailed—monoccephalous and duo-stal. It had a Democratic tail and a Whig tail, the latter once a little the longest, and so always behind the other. Freedom trod on the little end of Slavery, the Whig tail, and killed it; yet it did not exactly die; 'it kind of gin out.' There is still a little life in it about the stump; 'it won't die till sundown,' as the boys say of other snakes. It is unconscious; it is a Know-Nothing stump of the once long and glittering Whig tail. The Democratic tail still lives. It is coiled up in all the custom-houses, and post-offices, and courts of the whole North—a huge tail and a

famous, with a sting at its tip, and a deal of poison under it; and just as the Southern head wills, so the Northern tail straightens out, or curls up, lies low in the dust, or erects itself to strike Mr. Seward, Chase, Sumner, Mr. Beecher, or more especially the objects of its special hate, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips. For while the head cannot reach the latter gentlemen, the tail is always under their feet, and lies coiled up in official grass, or basking in the Federal sun, ready to strike with its sting, which makes up in power of venom for what it lacks in power to strike.

2. The PARTY OF FREEDOM. This is not yet very well organized, nor well compacted. It has no unity of action, no conscious unity of purpose, only unity of sentiment, perhaps only a unity of tendency, against slavery. There is great odds between the extreme Right and the extreme Left—the one demanding the immediate abolition of Slavery, or else a dissolution of the Union; and the other only asking that Slavery be not spread into Kansas. Still, the Democratic tendency is common to all this host—to such as guard the Ark of Liberty, and the mixed multitude who, with little humanity, have yet come up out of Egypt.

This Party has just been beaten. It laid siege to the Federal Government, but could not carry it, and has now raised the siege, yet has by no means given up the determination to conquer. The result of the last campaign was a defeat; its process a victory. Before the election, I thought the question of Slavery might be decided with words and ink; now, I think the last chance for a peaceful settlement is gone by.

The Party of Slavery has a new lease of Federal Power—till 1861. The National Legislative, Judiciary and Executive are all in the hands of the slaveholder. The Slave Power is still the Federal Government. In the next four years, it must make some new assault upon Freedom, as no party loses its continuity of action except with loss of life. For the last twelve years, to go no further back, each successive Administration has done some act of signal service to the Power which controls the American People.

Thus, from 1845 to 1849, Polk, Dallas & Co. were the political agents to do the business of the slaveholder. They re-annexed Texas, made the Mexican war, and at great cost of money and of men, plundered a sister Republic of an enormous tract of land, whence slave States are one day to be made.

From 1849 to 1853, Taylor, Fillmore & Co. had the management of the political business. The senior partner in that firm, a man too honest to be in such a concern, for it was "a nomination not fit to be made" in more senses than one—soon died, and the survivors managed as they saw fit. They had a whole Omnibus load of 'Compromise Measures.' The Fugitive Slave Bill was passed; kidnapping became common; practical Abolitionism was proclaimed as the first principle of Republican Government; the sentence, 'No Higher Law,' was added to the Litany of the Church of Commerce; the State Rights of the North were broken down by the Federal arm of Slavery.

From 1853 to 1857, Pierce, Cushing, Douglas and Brooks have had a general Power of Attorney to do all matters and things pertaining to the triumph of Slavery and the overthrow of Freedom; and most diligently have they done their work. Fillmore's bill has been encouraged; the African slave trade re-established at New York; State Rights further outraged, and the border-ruffians sent into Kansas to burn houses and standing corn, to murder men and to violate women, in order that Freedom may be driven thence. This firm attends to the minute details of slave-driving, and while it encourages Walker's bloody-busting in Nicaragua and Leconte's fly-bite assembles in Kansas, it turns Dr. Jackson out of his postmaster'ship at Cresson, because he helped cure the wounds of Senator Sumner, whom one of the slave-driving firm had smitten with a bludgeon appropriate for an assassin's hand.

Now, from 1857 to 1861, if the House does not break before, Buchanan & Co. are to carry on the same business at the old stand, sign of the Spread Eagle and the Thirteen Stripes. What new enormity will be committed by the new agents, I know not. Will Mr. Buchanan add Kansas to the slave territory, or Nicaragua, or a new piece of Mexico? Will he attack Cuba? Will he restore the African slave trade? No man can tell what he will attempt. I suppose the inaugural will be as pacific as Mr. Pierce's; certainly the next Cabinet cannot be worse than the present, which contains one who seems born to be a *Fillmore*, and another fitted by nature to profess the gentle craft of *Thimberly*, and these two have controlled the Administration. All will look mild, and the nation will be quiet, expecting only halcyon days, when of a sudden 'Pop goes the President,' and Slavery spreads to Mexico or Arizona, or some where else.

One of Mr. Buchanan's friends thus writes of him, (I quote from the *British New Quarterly*). 'He has the habit (that the historians attribute to Alexander the Great) of holding his head somewhat inclined to one side, and sometimes partially closing one eye.' No doubt this Macedonian peculiarity will enable him to discover some opportunity to serve his master, and he will have a single eye to the triumph of Slavery. He must do something. He is the Federal Head of the Slave Party. It must crawl on to new territory and deposit there the eggs of the cockatrice which it has swallowed for safe keeping. But the effort to do this will cost it the residue of its Northern tail. At the next move, Freedom puts its foot on this also, and in 1861, the Northern Democratic Party may be where the Whig Party is now—trodden under foot of men. For if this Administration follows the course of its three predecessors, then all the North, with only contemptible exceptions, will soon be for the Party of Freedom. Mr. Buchanan may solve the riddle as he can; but this modern Alexander will need to 'hold his head somewhat inclined' to either side, and to open both eyes, in order to escape one or the other horn of this political dilemma. How he can serve the God of Freedom and the Devil of Slavery, at the same time, it is difficult to see. When the British took Philadelphia, in 1777, Dr. Franklin said that 'Philadelphia had taken the British!' So it turned out. The party that was saved by an election may yet be lost by the Administration! You know on what a flood of popular favor Mr. Pierce came into office, and by what an ebb of that tide he is left—where he now is. Mr. Buchanan is like the man who climbed up a tall tree to rob an eagle's nest. Just as he came within a few feet of his prey, and felt sure of his game, the old eagle came soaring on mighty pinions, and with 'the terrors of his beak, and lightning of his eye' he scared the marauder to the heart. He began to let himself down; but lo! a new danger! At the foot of the tree sat a monstrous bear, ready to eat him up the moment he should leave the tree. Thus hangs poor Mr. Buchanan on the Presidential tree. If he goes up, the Northern eagle comes on him with a terrible dash; if he goes down, the Southern bear is ready to tear him in pieces. There let us leave him. With such fourfold opposition, the Party of Slavery is sure of ultimate defeat and disgraceful ruin.

Now, this Party of Freedom is free from the responsibilities of office, and need only attend to diffuse and develop its Idea. But, as I just said, there is no unity of action, aim, idea, or purpose—only of sentiment, or perhaps of tendency. Some wish for dissolution of the Union, others for its preservation; but neither considers the Union a Finality of Purpose, only a Provisionality of Means.

The Right wing contends for the immediate Abolition of Slavery throughout all America. On this side are all the four forces I just now mentioned. In this wing there are two persons whom I wish to say a word of—one I have often said elsewhere, but which costs me a little pain to repeat here in their presence. They do not need the word to be said, perhaps you need not to hear it; but it is necessary for

my peace of mind to say it, here and now. If the parties concerned do not like it, let them shut their ears.

One is Mr. GARRISON. I think no man now living has done America so great service. He has called the attention of the People to the great Crime of the American State, the great Sin of the American Church; he has foretold the national ruin which it is sure to cause, and has also pointed out the only mode of escape—the Abolition of Slavery, unconditional, total, immediate. He has sought nothing for himself, neither office, nor money, nor yet praise. He has aimed to do his duty to his neighbor and his God—who ever did both more manfully? See what his reward has been! Outwardly, abuse, scorn, hatred, loathing, from the American State, and the hot curses of the American Church. But he has that inward recompense which fails no man—the satisfaction of duties done, yes, of cruel sorrows, innocently and nobly borne. In the history of mankind, I know of no man who has more courageously gone on a forlorn hope, none who has borne a cross so heavy with more sweetness and generous forbearance. His hope never fails, his pity not often, seldom his love.

One more I wish to name is Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER. Of a living woman, I must speak with more delicacy and reserve, and in nicer words, than of a living man; I would not overstep the modesty of nature. A poor girl, a widow's daughter, keeping a little ill-paid school in a country town, the voice of Mr. Garrison pleading for the slave fell on her ear, and roused that gentle feminine heart, so the words of great men roused the St. Theresa and St. Catharine in the early days when the Christian Church was not merely a whitened sepulchre, beautiful outwardly, but within full of dead men's bones, and all manner of uncleanness. She devoted her spare moments and her spare time to the cause of the slave. Miss Dix looks after the crazy—legislatures listen, newspapers encourage, and pulpits white forth their cheap and popular applause: even the highwayman returns her plundered purse. Miss Nightingale soothes the sorrows of such as bleed in a great, proud nation's cause; and as that blessed angel moves through miles of Crimean agony, sick soldiers, full of thankfulness unwashed in mankind, draw themselves where she is to pass, and that the shadow of this apostle may fall and lead them where they lie, but only that she may hear or see the mainly gratitude which goes up from the wounded soldier's heart. The admiring world looks on and does her reverence. But Abby Kelley labored for the slave. Newspapers mocked, respectable men abused her, the pulpit poured out its paltry curse, and mobs of 'gentlemen' threw things too offensive for me to name at the defenceless head of a woman. The slave could not speak his gratitude, even if he ever felt the beautiful emotion; nay, he knew not even that her voice had ever spoken. She outwent the delicacy of her maidenhood, and endured hardness like a stern, harsh-fortified man. When her mother, ceasing to be a mother, needed human help no more, the noble girl took the poor little inheritance which fell to her, a few hundred dollars, and gave it all to the slave. Thereafter, her time, her talents, and yes, all of her living, and her life itself, was devoted to the slave. Does her voice sound unmusical in your fastidious ears? It lost its sweetness pleading with rough mobs against the wickedness of State and Church.

Such are the merits of two among the leaders of this Right Wing of the Party of Freedom. But I do not always agree with these men and women—Sometimes I think they do injustice to such as seek the same end by other means. I count it an honor to call Mr. Garrison my friend; I often differ from his opinions. But how brave and heroic has been the conduct of this gallant band—the Abolitionists!

'How they rode onward!  
Huskies to right of them,  
Huskies to left of them,  
Huskies before them and behind,  
Volleyed and thundered!  
Stormed at with shot and shell,  
Bolted they rode and well  
Into the mouth of hell!

Honor the brave and bold!  
Long shall the tale be told,  
Yes, when our babes are old,  
How they rode onward!

The Left Wing consists of those who work politically, and of course with such tools as they can use in that business. Here are good men and bad men. They fight only with weapons which the Constitution justifies and the laws allow. Some of them put their own interpretation on the Constitution, and differ from the unjust deductions or constructions of the service Court.

Among the political men of this party, I wish to mention the two Massachusetts Senators, so often spoken of in these debates, and of course with varying words. I have so often borne my testimony in behalf of Mr. Sumner, his services are so well appreciated in this Convention, and his noble merits so gratefully honored by this State, that it may seem superfluous to say an added word. His position is exceedingly different from that of the men on this platform, but he aims at the same end with Mr. Garrison—only by other means. He also hates slavery every where, works for its abolition every where; but his official position necessitates that senatorially he shall use only constitutional weapons. So he is more restricted than Mr. Garrison in his choice of tools.

Mr. Sumner's course has been singularly generous towards his foes. I speak not only of those at home whose birth and breeding might have taught them at least truth and good manners, but of the more open and public enemies who assailed him with different weapons. Since Mr. Brooks struck his coward blow, your Senator has been continually in a condition more painful and dangerous than the newspapers represent or the public know. It is now eight months since the assault; not only has he been kept from the public business of his Senatorship, but there has never been an evening when he could sit erect in a chair—he can only lie on a couch. But no man, I think, has heard him say a word against Mr. Brooks. He has let that for the nation and the world. The assassin has gone home to his God, slain, I take it, by the unskillful hands of his physician—the same who so malignantly attended upon Mr. Sumner. Congress now buries whom once she morally expelled. Of old time, when a warrior went to his grave, men bore his sword on his coffin. A wise and kind woman suggests that a bludgeon should be carried on the coffin of Bully Brooks; let me add, with a revolver laid at right angles—the Southern Cross.

I must say a word of the other Senator, Mr. Wilson. I do not think justice has been always done him here. Mr. Wilson has come to his present position through a narrow path, which was also steep and otherwise difficult. A country schoolmaster told me, 'When Henry Wilson was three and twenty years old, I put him through Colburn's First Lessons.' He had only one of the great helps to eminence—the one most commonly overlooked—great personal honor! In a time of need, Massachusetts wanted an able Senator—firm, courageous, progressive. She did not go to one of the historical families, nor take a great academic man; she went into a shoemaker's shop, and took HENRY WILSON. Gentlemen, he deserved the place, and he has ceased to deserve it now? He has lately made a speech, which contains good things. He believes, with Franklin, that 'Slavery is an atrocious debasement of human nature'—with Adams, that 'consenting to Slavery is a sacrilegious breach of trust'—with Jefferson, that 'one hour of American Slavery is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose'—with Madison, that 'Slavery is a dreadful calamity,' that 'inability is ever attendant upon a country filled with slaves'—with Monroe, that 'Slavery has preyed upon the vitals of the community in all the States where it has existed'—with Montezuma, that 'even

the very earth, which teems with profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave.' 'The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Jones], says Mr. Wilson, 'quoted a remark of mine to the effect that this agitation of the Slavery question would never cease while the soil of the Republic should be trod by the foot of a slave. That sentiment I repeat here to-day. I believe it. GOD is the great agitator. While his throne stands, agitation will go on until the foot of a slave shall not press the soil of the eastern or western continent.' 'We believe, with Burke, that "Slavery is a state so degrading to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist." We believe, with Henry Clay, that "Slavery is a curse—a curse to the master—a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave; that it is all wrong, and no possible contingency can make it right." 'We believe in the sublime doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and have an inalienable right to liberty. We believe that doctrine to be embodied in the Constitution, that without due process of law, no person can be deprived of liberty. We do not believe, with Mr. Calhoun, the Declaration of Independence to be a "theoretical flourish." We do not believe it to be what Mr. Pettit pronounced it, "a self-evident lie." We do not believe it to be "an eloquent and passionate manifesto of a revolutionary war." "mere glittering and sounding generalities of natural right." We believe it to be a living truth, from the pages of the New Testament, expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Constitution of the United States.'

He bestows these rather moderate commendations on the anti-slavery men of a different stamp—

'I will do them the justice to say here, that they have for years devoted their lives and their property, and endured contumely and reproaches, for the bondage of America; and here or elsewhere, while I express my total disagreement with them, I will say that they are men of self-sacrificing devotion, and men of great ability, who have studied the Slavery question in all its aspects, collected volumes of statistics bearing upon it in all its relations—men at whose feet the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bigler] and other Senators who so glibly pronounce them fanatics, might sit and learn something of Slavery in America.'

He goes on and declares what he considers the design of the Republican party—

'Since I took my seat in the Senate, early in February, 1855, I have travelled more than thirty thousand miles in fourteen of the free States; I have seen hundreds of thousands of American citizens in counsel; I have listened to many of the ablest men in the country; I have consulted with them; and I never yet heard one word uttered claiming power in Congress, or proposing to usurp power in Congress, to abolish Slavery in the slaveholding States. The venerable Senator from Michigan [Mr. Cass] mistakes in the idea that many persons voted under the conviction that they were voting for the abolition of servitude in the States.'

So, then, if the Republican party had come into power, it would only restrict slavery in the territories. I think him a little mistaken in his opinion. I certainly have heard Republicans, and quite prominent Republicans, too, claim the Congressional right to abolish slavery in the slave States.

But Mr. Wilson not only declares that the Republican party does not now intend to abolish slavery in the slave States, but he says—

'When the Constitution was framed, the men who framed it did not intend to give Congress the power to abolish Slavery in the slaveholding States. Opening the Constitution of our country, we find no power specifically granted to Congress to abolish Slavery in these States.'

Yet he says elsewhere—

'When the Constitution was framed, there was not a man in America who believed that the idea of property in man, to use the words of Mr. Madison, was embodied in that Constitution.'

But Mr. Wilson goes much further. He defends the Union as an end which is to be secured at all hazards, not simply as a Means for the attainment of noble ends. Thus he says—

'When the Republican party was organized, the avowed aim was that the Union must be maintained. The declaration of Mr. Webster, "Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable;" the declaration of Andrew Jackson, "The Union must be preserved," were borne throughout the canvass on all our banners.'

Here the Union is the Purpose, not the Instrument, for the security of Liberty, but at least as important as Liberty itself. Now, I venture to state a public secret, that some leading Republicans did not value the Union much for itself; nay, some thought it was a hindrance to both the immediate Welfare and the future Progress of the People, and did not much care how soon it should end; but they knew it was a popular cry, and intended to outdo the Democrats themselves in shouting that watchword. The Democrats wanted Union for the support of Slavery. The Republicans shouted the old cry, 'Union! Union!' But the old faith in Union, for its own sake, is gone by; at least, it seems so to me.

He goes further yet—

'In the public press, and before the people every where, the doctrine was maintained that we were for the Union; and if any men, North or South, laid their hands upon it, they should die, if we had the power, traitor deaths, and leave traitor names in the history of the Republic.'

This passage, it seems to me, has been condemned more harshly than is necessary. He would hang men as traitors who should lay hands on the Union to destroy it! Exactly so; but the Constitution declares what treason is—'levying war.' Of course, it is to be supposed he would say this. Looked at carefully, it means only the same as his oath to support the Constitution and the laws. But I confess I see no reason for the words.

Here is another passage—

'We vindicate the rights of the States—the right of the Southern States, if they choose, to hold men in Slavery, and the right of Massachusetts, Vermont, Michigan and Wisconsin, to protect, by their own legislation, the liberty of every man that treads their soil, until his liberty has been forfeited by due process of law.'

I think this the worst sentence Mr. Wilson ever uttered. No word spoken in this Congress has given me such pain. He pledges the Republican Party to vindicate the right of the Southern States to hold men in slavery! Mr. Webster, Mr. Douglas, has said few things worse than that. I repudiate the doctrine. The Republican Party will not vindicate the right of the Southern States to hold men in slavery. If it does, then the People of the North will tread the Republican Party in the dust, where the Know Nothings and the Whigs are already gone.

The Republican Convention declared that the rights of the States must be preserved. Did it admit that any State had a right to do wrong, and that 'right' must be preserved? Has any State a constitutional privilege to prevent the attainment of the Purpose of the Constitution, to annul the unalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness? Whence does such a State derive the privilege? From the Constitution? Does the Constitution, in its provision of means, confer the right to defeat its ends? Does the moral nature of man? Does that moral nature authorize slavery, which is 'an atrocious debasement of human nature'? Shame on the base, unworthy thought! A shoemaker of Massachusetts vindicate the 'right' of South Carolina to hold men in slavery! Has Massachusetts come to this?

We talk a great deal about the compromises of the Constitution: we forget its GUARANTEES. Look at this, from the Constitution itself (art. 4, sec. 4), 'The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of government.' The Nation has not fulfilled that guaranty to the bondmen. I think the 'Supreme Court' has not determined what a Republican form of Government is. But there is a Supreme Court of Posterity, which will one day rule that to answer that question, an American is not to go

to the historic past of Greece, Rome, Venice, Holland, but to the American Programme of Political Principles, in the Declaration of Independence; to our Programme of Political Purposes, in the Preamble to the Constitution—'We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America'—to the Ideal Justice owed in the Golden Rule of Jesus and the Precepts of noble men. I say, Shame on the Senator who men in slavery! All the more shame that he was a shoemaker before he was a Senator, for his continual contact with the daily life of common men should have kept his moral instincts fresh and pure. He should have forgotten the instinct of humanity, what will you say?

But I do not give up a man for one ill thing—say, though so ill as this. Henry Wilson has done many noble things; I trust he will do many more. I have always held him to be a brave, an upright, a just, and an honorable man. He has endured temptation before now. In 1848, when the Whigs nominated George Taylor, Mr. Wilson refused to sustain him. He was poor; not very thriving or thrifty, with a family dependent upon him. He was ambitious of the respect of worthy and respected men. Some Whigs told him they would make him agent in their factory, with a salary of \$2500 or \$3000 to begin with, and more in prospect, if he would not oppose Gen. Taylor. 'We don't ask you, said they, to say a word, only to hold your tongue, and let your virtual seat open your mouth.' Henry Wilson would not hold his tongue; he spoke manfully against the continuous encroachments of the Slave Power, against the corruption of the Whig party.

Last spring, you know what honorable service he performed after his generous colleague had been so fully assaulted. His own life was in peril—I should not here dare tell you how imminent his bodily peril was, nor how he was defended, nor do I care to remember what other Northern men trembled and turned pale. Remember this—he cannot now go to his place in the Senate without a revolver in his pocket. Let us be just to his error, also generous to the man; for I trust that, as in times past, he will yet do long and faithful service to the great cause of Humanity.

I saw it stated in the newspapers, some time since, that during a debate in the Senate, a Southern Senator charged Mr. Wilson with saying 'that the slave had a right to rise in insurrection and cut their masters' throats,' and Mr. Wilson replied that he had never said so. I do not know his position on that matter, and seldom could a position other than my own; but I should not have been sorry to be a Senator from Massachusetts when such a question was asked. I would have called the attention of the Senate, of the South, and the world, to my words, and then replied that I not only think, but am sure, that the American slave has the natural, moral right to rise in insurrection and cut their masters' throats for the sake of freedom, and the time may come when it will be their natural, moral duty to do so; and if I were held in bondage as they are, in the centre of the continent, and a file of men two thousand miles long stood between me and my natural liberty, I would split that thread of life from end to end, and secure my natural right to liberty, even if I had down a man at every step, and walked blood red from Texas to Canada. It is high time that this was said at Washington and at Boston! Why, what more that pile of stones at Bunker Hill—the celebration of the great days of the Revolution, and the memory of its men!

Well, the Idea of Freedom is destined to prevail in America and become a fact. Many will falter and turn off, but others will come forward and take their places. There may be unity of spirit and diversity of manifestation. It will be one function of this Convention, of these men and women, to quicken the sentiment of Freedom and Philanthropy, mother, to furnish therefor the appropriate Idea—while the Political Abolitionists organize it into the Fact of institutions. So a part of our work must be to criticize the action of others. We have never been charged with excess of loyalty to be or friend. Are we not just enough to be also generous? In the Anti-Slavery Household there must be Fathers and Mothers, yes, Grand-parents also; but likewise babies and sucklings of Liberty. Let us be growing while the boys and girls; they will be growing while we are working. The Anti-Slavery leader, like the visionary one of Jacob in the Old Testament myth, has one end in the calm